

AN  
HISTORICAL  
GEOGRAPHY OF  
IRAN

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W. BARTHOLD

TRANSLATED BY  
SVAT SOUCEK

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY  
C. E. BOSWORTH

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

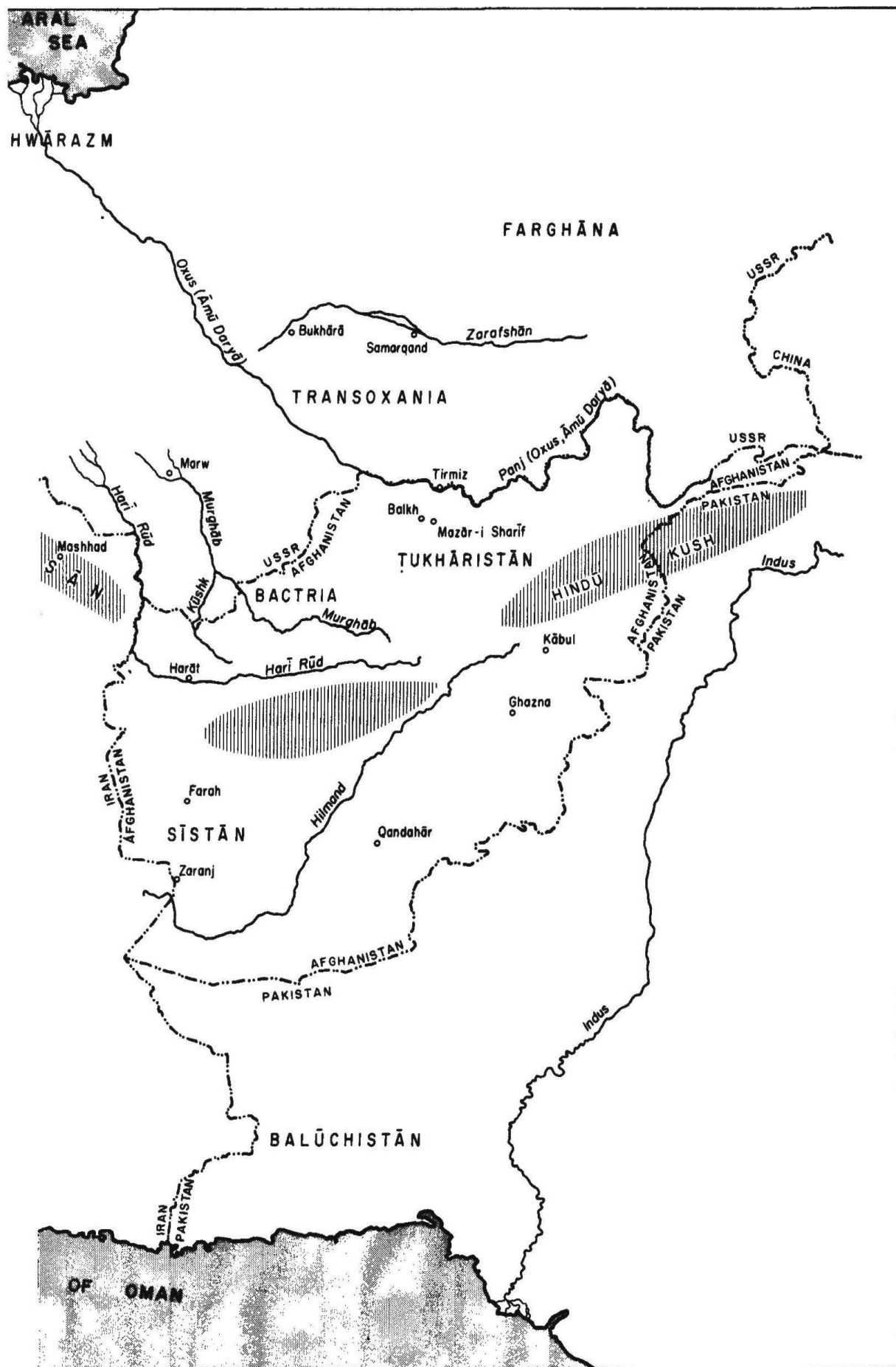
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AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AGWG	<i>Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
AI	<i>Athār-é Irān</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AMI	<i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
AN	<i>Akademiia Nauk</i>
ANVA	<i>Avhandlingar utgivet av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, Oslo</i>
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
AOHung	<i>Acta Orientalia Hungarica</i>
AOr	<i>Archív Orientální</i>
APAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
BGA	<i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum</i>
BSO[A]S	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies</i>
CAJ	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
EI <sup>1</sup>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st edition</i>
EI <sup>2</sup>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition</i>
EW	<i>East and West</i>
Farhang	<i>Farhang-i jughrāfiyā-yi Irān</i>
GAL	<i>C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i>
GIPh	<i>W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, eds., Grundriss der iranischen Philologie</i>
GJ	<i>Geographical Journal</i>
GMS	<i>Gibb Memorial Series</i>
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
HOr	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>
IA	<i>Islām Ansiklopedisi</i>
IJ	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
IJMES	<i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i>
IQ	<i>Islamic Quarterly</i>
Iran, JBIPS	<i>Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies</i>
Isl.	<i>Der Islam</i>
IUTAKÈ	<i>Trudy Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi èkspeditsii</i>

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JASB	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JRCAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society</i>
JSFOu	<i>Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
MO	<i>Le Monde Oriental</i>
NGWG	<i>Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
NTS	<i>Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
OON	<i>Otdelenie obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
PRGS	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society</i>
PW	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
REI	<i>Revue des Études Islamiques</i>
RMM	<i>Revue du Monde Musulman</i>
SA	<i>Sovetskaia Arkheologiia</i>
SBAW Berlin	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
SBWAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
SB Bayr. AW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
Soch.	<i>V. V. Bartol'd, Sochineniia, Moscow, 1963-1977. 9 vols.</i>
SON	<i>Seriia obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
Survey of Persian Art	<i>A. U. Pope and P. A. Ackermann, eds. A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present. 6 vols. London and New York, 1938-1939.</i>
TPS	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZII	<i>Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Leipzig</i>
ZVORAO	<i>Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva</i>









## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

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No historian of the eastern Islamic world is unfamiliar with the works of Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartol'd (1869-1930), or Wilhelm Barthold, as his name was originally rendered in the Germano-Russian milieu into which he was born. His magnum opus, the work based on his St. Petersburg doctoral thesis, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, appeared in English in the Gibb Memorial Series in 1928, and with an extra, hitherto unpublished chapter, again in 1968. The late Professor V. and Mrs. T. Minorsky performed a valuable service in 1958-1962 by translating as *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* (in fact, five studies) Barthold's *A Short History of Turkestan*, *History of the Semirech'yé*, *Ulugh-Beg*, *Mir 'Alī Shīr*, and *A History of the Turkman People*. The lectures that Barthold gave in Turkish at Istanbul in 1926 are available in both German and French versions (*Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, 1935, and *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 1945). A general work on Asian exploration and the evolution of oriental studies appeared in French in 1947, *La découverte de l'Asie, histoire de l'orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*. Various other lesser works have been translated into western languages and into Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; Barthold wrote certain of his articles in the language of his family background, German; and the large number of articles that he wrote for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (many of them now updated and included in the new edition) are also widely available to the non-Russophone reader. But although the work of translation has gone on steadily in the half-century since Barthold's death, these works still represent only a small part of his total oeuvre, extending over some forty years; the *Collected Works (Sochineniia)* that appeared at Moscow between 1963 and 1977 (comprising ten parts in nine volumes) amount to over 7,000 large pages.

The stature of the man emerges from these bare statistics and the recounting of titles. The lands of eastern Islam, from Iran to Afghanistan and Central Asia, were Barthold's particular sphere of interest, and above all the latter, for the Russian advance into Central Asia during the later nineteenth century opened up for Russian scholars exciting possibilities of historical and archaeolog-

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ical investigation, whereas earlier European travelers to places like Khiva, Bukhara, and Samarkand had had to contend with capricious and barbaric local potentates who hardly observed the international conventions of behavior toward accredited diplomats, let alone toward free-lance travelers and researchers, figures of suspicion at the best of times. Barthold realized early in his scholarly career at the University of St. Petersburg, where he lectured from 1896 onward, that the investigation of the history, topography, and antiquities of Central Asia offered a field similar to that opened up in the Indian subcontinent in the late eighteenth century for British scholars. Barthold made almost annual field trips to Central Asia starting in 1893, undeterred by the fact that in that first year, on a journey to Semirechye, he broke his leg and had to return to Tashkent for medical treatment. In the 1920s, he was much in demand by the various Soviet republics that had by 1924 emerged in Central Asia after the final extinguishing of nationalist and separatist aspirations there, to write local histories and accounts of the different Turkish peoples of the republics. Both in the Tsarist period and after, Barthold was insistent that Russian officials, traders, soldiers, and so on working in Central Asia should busy themselves in their spare time with the study of the region, recognizing how much invaluable work had been done for our knowledge of Indian geography, society, and history by successive generations of devoted British administrators and soldiers.

Central Asia has always been at the receiving end of religious, cultural, and other influences, rather than being a spontaneously creative region, and it is this receptiveness to an assortment of outside civilizations—including those of China, India, the Middle East—that makes the study of Central Asia and the interaction of these strands such a fascinating one. It does, however, make stringent demands on the scholar who would devote himself to Inner Asia, not least in the matter of linguistic equipment; hence the rarity of the multilingual Marquarts and Pelliot. Barthold's concern was more particularly Islamic Central Asia, and his skills lay chiefly in the sphere of the three great Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. He was an exacting philologist, fully cognizant of the truism not always appreciated today that without philological expertise the would-be specialist in the Middle East, or for that matter, in any part of Asia, is as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Accompanying his *Turkestan* when it appeared in 1898-1900 was a volume of texts, most of them edited for the first time by Barthold from manuscripts bristling with linguistic problems

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and difficulties of interpretation; many of these texts, such as Gardīzī's *Zayn al-akhbār*, 'Awfi's *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, and Isfizarī's *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, have since been published, but here, as in so many spheres, Barthold was the pioneer.

One of those great civilizations that have profoundly affected Central Asia is the Iranian, for out of Iran such faiths as Zoroastrianism, Manicheism, Nestorian Christianity, and most recently Islam have been mediated to the Asian heartland. If only because a knowledge of Iranian civilization was a necessary adjunct to the understanding of Central Asia, Barthold was bound to be attracted to the study of Iran, a land with which Russia had already long been in intimate political, military, and commercial contact. Two of his major works, indeed, deal with it, the one translated here, and *Iran, a Historical Survey*, and both will now be available in English (a translation of the latter appeared at Bombay in about 1939).

Barthold's basic attitude to history was, as Professor Yuri Bregel has pointed out in a perceptive study that should be read in conjunction with this present Introduction,<sup>1</sup> that of nineteenth-century German positivist historiography, with the evolution of mankind viewed as a convergence of originally distinct human societies through the diffusion of culturally more advanced societies to the less advanced. It was in the light of this process that he viewed such diverse phenomena as religion, the growth of world empires, the development of urban life, and the spread of international trade, and that he viewed with favor the *missions civilisatrices* of the imperial powers of his time, whether Britain in India and Africa or Russia in Central Asia, Siberia, and the Caucasus. It was, indeed, Barthold's intellectual support for the Imperial Russian mission in Central Asia (one whose positive achievements were appreciated at the time by outside observers such as Schuyler and Curzon) that eventually contributed to a fuller rehabilitation of his work in post-Stalinist Soviet Russia. For although Barthold, as a Russian patriot, had stayed on in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution, he gave no assent to Communism and regarded Marx as an unhistorical, unscientific figure whose ideas had no relevance for oriental studies; he had never become a nonperson in Soviet scholarship, but his works had been somewhat neglected or cited only selectively and misleadingly in some quarters, above all in the Central Asian Soviet Republics.

*The Historical Geography of Iran* is essentially an analytical and

<sup>1</sup> "Barthold and Modern Oriental Studies," *IJMES*, XII (1980), 385-403.

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descriptive work rather than an attempt at synthesis. Barthold was conscious of the backwardness of oriental studies in the identification and evaluation of the basic sources, compared with long-established disciplines such as classical studies and European literature and history. He held that the critical study of these basic sources was necessary before any meaningful grand syntheses could be made. Iran, with its successive great empires—those of the Achaemenids, Parthians, Sāsānids, and Muslims—its diverse faiths and its fine literary and artistic achievements, was already much more sharply focussed for the scholar than was Central Asia, but the historical geography of Iran, apart from groundwork done by such scholars as Tomaschek, had been hardly explored. As it happened, while Barthold was working on his book, two German scholars were also putting together outstanding contributions to this very subject, though from very different angles. Josef Marquart (a scholar whom Barthold felt to be to some extent a rival to himself, with their overlapping interests, and one whose wide-ranging speculations, even at times lucubrations, Barthold felt were often not sufficiently firmly grounded in reality) in his *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (1901) gave a translation of a brief and jejune Armenian geographical work enriched by a commentary of amazing erudition; and Paul Schwarz was embarking on his *Iran in Mittelalter* (1896-1936), a patient synthesis of all the information available in the medieval Islamic geographers but without any attempt at interpretation. These works Barthold was able to draw upon substantially only for his additional notes, but his own book stands as a parallel, though completely independent achievement, and has the additional advantage of providing a successful blend of classical, medieval Islamic, and modern European information on his subject.

For sources, Barthold accordingly drew upon the results of a patient sifting by earlier Iranists of the classical—above all Greek—sources on Iran; and then, for the earlier Islamic centuries, upon the corpus of ninth- and tenth-century Arabic geographical texts collected by M. J. de Goeje in his *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (1870-1894), supplemented by Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*. For the period of the Saljuqs, Mongols, Tīmūrids, and so on, he had texts by authors such as Nasawī, Juwaynī, 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, and Hāfiz-i Abrū, in the exploitation of which Barthold was often a trailblazer. For the period up to the present, for which primary historical sources in Persian or Arabic become sparser, he utilized fully the many European travelers, diplomatic envoys, merchants,

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members of religious orders, and so on who traveled within Iran, being thereby able, through the citation of such recent observers as I. N. Berezin, E. G. Browne, the Hon. G. N. Curzon, and A. V. Williams Jackson, to make his survey entirely up to date. It is not surprising that Barthold is particularly full on Khurāsān and the northeastern fringes of Iran, for Russian travelers and scholars had done much valuable spadework here for him; but the breadth of his treatment of other provinces such as Fārs and Azerbaijan shows that his mastery of the source material extended to the whole of historic Iran, including Mesopotamia, that at various epochs has formed part of the empires of Iran.

The basic sources for the medieval Islamic period have not been greatly enlarged since Barthold's time. Since it was only in 1922 that A.Z.V. Togan discovered at Mashhad a manuscript of the Arab traveler Abū Dulaf al-Khazraji's second *risāla* on his travels in northern and western Iran, Barthold was not able to draw upon this, although he was of course aware of the numerous citations from this work in Yāqūt; I have therefore added the relevant references to Minorsky's 1955 edition and translation of the *risāla*. Also, Barthold naturally knew of the anonymous Persian geographical work from the late tenth century, the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, acquired by Captain A. G. Tumanskii at Bukhara in 1893, and whose text he was later to edit and to have published posthumously (1930). But in the earlier period, he was only able to quote to a limited extent from a photographic copy, so that ampler references to the English translation and monumental commentary of Minorsky (1937) have been added by Livshits.

Finally, one should mention that a Persian translation of the *Historical Geography of Iran* was published at Tehran in 1930 by Sardādwar; it is now very hard to find,<sup>2</sup> and it may be fairly claimed that the present translation will for the first time make available to western readers one of the masterworks of a giant of oriental studies.

THE translation has been made by Dr. Svat Soucek from the text of the *Istoriko-geograficheskii obzor Irana* given in Vol. VII of Barthold's *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 31-225, a volume provided with a lengthy Introduction (pp. 5-28) by Dr. V. A. Livshits. Barthold's original text is liberally sprinkled with quotations from Ar-

<sup>2</sup> My colleague, Mr. Mohsen Ashtiany, tells me that it has, however, recently been reprinted in Iran.

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abic, Persian, and Turkish sources given in the original Arabic script. These also have been translated; citations from classical Greek authors have been left in the original script.

The notes are an exceedingly valuable feature of this 1971 edition, but as translated in this present work they represent a palimpsest, as it were, of different layers by different hands. Barthold's original notes, given with the 1903 original text, were brief and largely confined to the citation of oriental texts used for the work. But as was his custom with other major works, over the years Barthold accumulated, out of his own reading and in some instances his closer personal acquaintance with the actual terrain, a rich collection of further references. Facsimile examples of Barthold's notes are given by Livshits at pp. 22-26 of his Introduction. Livshits has integrated these with the notes of the original edition (leaving them, in many cases, in their terse, elliptical, notelike form), and in the present translation, these are not otherwise distinguished; anyone who wishes to disentangle the 1903 notes from the subsequent ones can easily do so from the *Sochineniia* text. Livshits has, however, vastly increased the value of the latter text by adding his own extensive annotation, comprising in the main relevant works that appeared during the years 1930-1967. In the present translation, these are marked off by angle brackets, thus: «. . .»). The final layer is that of my own notes, references to works that have either appeared since 1967 or that were published earlier but were apparently not available to Livshits in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, references to translations of texts into western European languages, for example to Yule's translation of Marco Polo and to Le Strange's one of Clavijo's *Embassy to Tamerlane*, have been given where Barthold cited only Russian translations. These additions of my own have been placed within square brackets, thus: [. . .] when they represent insertions within or additions to existing notes. Where a few notes have been inserted at fresh points in Barthold's text, these are indicated by letters, thus: a, b, c, etc. In general, however, I have sought not to overload still further an already substantial weight of annotation.

The bibliography given at the end of this book is a select one. Volume VII of the *Sochineniia* contains a bibliography of truly gargantuan dimensions (87 pages), although this also refers, it is true, to the other contents of the volume (*Iran, a Historical Survey*, some review articles and shorter articles, and some *Encyclopaedia of Islam* articles). The system that I have adopted within the body of the translation is to give the full title and bibliographical details when

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the work in question does not appear in the bibliography. The naturally very numerous Russian works cited by Barthold are usually given by short title only and without full bibliographical details. Sergei Shuiskii has assembled a bibliography of Russian works that gives the full references; this follows the main bibliography.

For measurements and distances, Barthold wisely did not attempt to reduce the figures given in his sources to a common denominator; hence one finds metric measurements side-by-side with, for example, English miles and the traditional Russian units. The reader may therefore find it useful to note that a verst is approximately a kilometer or 3,500 English feet in length, an arshin 28 inches in length, and a desiatina 2.7 acres in area.

C. E. BOSWORTH  
December 1981

AN  
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IRAN



## INTRODUCTION

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THE purpose of this work is to present a brief survey of the geography of Iran, to dwell in greater detail on the sites that were at various historical periods the centers of life, and to determine, as far as possible, the degree of dependence of this life on geographical circumstances.

"Iran" as a geographical term denotes an elevated plateau, bordering on the north and northeast the basins of the Caspian and Aral seas, and on the west, south, and southeast, the basin of the Indian ocean. The country is one of the so-called interior, landlocked basins, whose characteristic peculiarities have been best described by F. Richthofen in his book on China.<sup>1</sup> The main difference between these basins and the ocean-drained or peripheral ones is that in the former, all the products of mechanical or chemical decomposition (through the action of water, wind, and so on) remain within the region, whereas in the latter they are carried away into the sea; in the former the accumulation of such deposits gradually effaces the unevenness of the soil and is instrumental in its leveling, whereas in the latter the deposits pile up along the coasts and further the formation of deltas and the raising of sea bottoms; the waters that pass through a country on the way to the sea erode the soil more and more, and the unevenness of the latter becomes ever more sharply pronounced. This is, then, how in closed basins the compartmentalization of the surface gradually diminishes, whereas in the peripheral ones it increases. Lack of moisture in landlocked basins, however, allows only a minor part of the country's surface to be cultivated, and this hinders a solid and lasting development of culture and civilization; for these reasons landlocked basins sharply differ from the peripheral ones not only in geography but also in history.

The Iranian plateau is one of such interior basins with an extremely dry climate.<sup>2</sup> Except in a few mountain areas, agriculture

<sup>1</sup> «F. Fr. von Richthofen, *China. Ergebnisse eigener Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien* (Berlin, 1877), 1. Theil, 6-21.)»

<sup>2</sup> For the absence of change in the climate during the last millennium, cf. W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie, II," pp. 561-62; Polybius, X, 28, 3 cited by L. S. Berg, "Ob izmeneniakh klimata v istoricheskuiu epokhu," *Zemlevedenie* (1911), book III, p. 80.

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is possible here only through irrigation; for this reason all the rivers, except for the most important ones, are divided up into irrigation canals as soon as they leave the mountains. Their remaining waters disappear in the sands. Civilization is of necessity concentrated along the fringes of the mountains that cut through the plateau. For these same reasons, the geographical borders of Iran could not coincide with the political and ethnic ones. The fact that almost the entire interior of the country is unsuitable for sedentary civilization could not but force the Iranians to settle areas neighboring the oceanic and Aralo-Caspian basins. The easternmost branch of the Iranians, the Afghans, now live chiefly in the basin of the Indus, whereas the westernmost one, the Kurds, live in that of the Tigris.<sup>3</sup> These were the approximate limits within which lived the historical Iranians,<sup>4</sup> as a result of which F. Spiegel, the author of a voluminous (now already somewhat dated) work on Iran, considered it possible to give his book the following title: *Érân, das Land zwischen dem Indus und Tigris*.

In the ethnic sense, the term "Iranians," as is well known, denotes that branch of the Aryans who are closely related to those of India. The oldest monuments of Indian and Iranian literatures are linguistically so similar that an attempt has even been made to reconstruct, in general terms, the language spoken by the proto-historical common ancestors of the Iranians and Indians. H. Oldenberg in his book *Aus Indien und Iran* remarks that "we can trace down to individual details the processes through which that language, not a single word of which has been preserved by history, developed to the southeast of the Hindu Kush into the dialect of the Vedas, and to the southwest of these same mountains into that of the Avesta."<sup>5</sup> Of the two branches of the Asian Aryans—the Indians and Iranians—the Indians received their ethnic characteristics, it would seem, only in the country on that side of the Hindu Kush: there are no traces of Indians inhabiting the area to the north of these mountains. On the other hand, the Iranians, in the opinion of today's scholars, had at one time occupied a considerable portion of southern Russia and all of Turkestan, both western, present-day Russian, Turkestan and eastern Turkestan, that is, the Tarim

<sup>3</sup> «For the present-day limits of the spread of the Iranian languages, see Oranskii, *Vvedenie*, p. 288.»

<sup>4</sup> In the *Kutāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, I, 18<sup>2</sup>, Sughd was called *Īrān al-A'lā*, "Upper Iran"; see Ross-Gauthiot, "De l'alphabet soghdien," *JA*, ser. 10, vol. XVII (1911), 532.

<sup>5</sup> «H. Oldenberg, *Aus Indien und Iran* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 137-38.»

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basin. The languages spoken in this entire area already had the characteristic features of the Iranian idiom, not those of the proto-historical Indo-Iranian tongue. Both this fact and the few historical data available to us—the latter partly set out in F. A. Braun's magisterial dissertation *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii* ["Researches in the Field of Gotho-Slavic Relations"]<sup>6</sup>—make us suppose that the movement of the Iranians, after their separation from the Indians, proceeded from east to west rather than vice versa; the Iranians migrated into present-day Persia, most probably, also from the east,<sup>7</sup> and prior to their irruption there they reached a certain degree of cultural development in regions included today within the borders of Afghanistan. Here, in the basin of the Āmū Daryā and of other rivers that flow from the high mountain ranges that constitute that eastern limit of the Iranian plateau, the conditions of irrigation are somewhat more propitious than in the western part of Iran, for the high snow-clad mountain crests give rise to vigorous rivers. The traveler Ferrier, who in the years 1845-1846 crossed Persia and Afghanistan, states that through the area from Kermanshah, the principal town of Persian Kurdistan, to the Harī Rūd river, which represents the border of Persia and Afghanistan, he had to cross only brooks (*ruisseaux*); the Harī Rūd was the first river "à laquelle on puisse donner le nom de rivière."<sup>8</sup> According to Ferrier again, the Hilmand is the only water course in the entire area from the Tigris to the Indus that deserves the appellation of a full-fledged river (*fleuve*).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> F. A. Braun, *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii. I. Goty i ikh sosedi do V veka. Pervyi period: Goty na Visle* (Saint Petersburg, 1899), pp. 77, 90, 96 (*Sbornik ORIAS* = *Otdelenie russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii nauk*, vol. XIV, no. 12).

<sup>7</sup> «For the possible routes of the movement of Iranian tribes into the territory of the Iranian plateau, see R. Ghirshman, *L'Iran des origines à l'Islam* (Paris, 1951), pp. 58 ff.; I. D'iakonov, *Istoriia Mīdu*, pp. 124-125, 1249-50; E. A. Grantovskii, "Drevneiranskoe etnicheskoe nazvanie "Parsava-Parsa," in *Kratkie soobshchennia Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*, fasc. XXX (1961), pp. 3-19; V. I. Abaev, *Shifo-evropeiskie izoglosy na styke Vostoka i Zapada* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 122-24; M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien (mit einer analytischen Bibliographie)* (Wiesbaden, 1966); V. M. Masson, *Srednuaia Azia i Drevnii Vostok* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1964), pp. 395-449.»

<sup>8</sup> *Voyages*, I, 269.

<sup>9</sup> For the link between the lack of water and the absence of snow-clad mountains, see letter from A. D. Kalmykov.



## CHAPTER XII

### Kurdistān and Mesopotamia

BOTH the road from Media through Hamadān and that from Fārs and Khūzistān through Susa led to Mesopotamia, the center of the most ancient civilization in Asia. The road from Hamadān to Baghdad always had great importance. In Arab times, it was part of the principal trade route from western to eastern Asia, because of which it is described by the Arab geographers in especially great detail; the most detailed description is in the work of Ibn Rusta.<sup>1</sup> From Hamadān, the road crossed the mountain range of Alwand, called Arwand by the Arabs and Orontes by the Greeks, and came to Asadābād or, according to some itineraries, to the village of Khūndād, which lay somewhat further south. Then, after crossing mountain gorges that were not safe from brigands, it came to the stronghold of Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ, now the town of Kangāwar,<sup>2</sup> and from there to the town of Dukkān (whence—and not from Kangāwar as today—a road branched off southeastward to Nihāwand and Iṣfahān), and from Dukkān to Qirmāsīn or Qirmāshīn, present-day Kirmānshāh or, more correctly, Kirmānshāhān.<sup>3</sup> All along this route there were palaces and other constructions from the Sāsānid period. Those traveling this road passed between Dukkān and Qirmāsīn by the famous mountain of Bīsutūn<sup>4</sup> or Behistūn (Βαυλο-ταυου ὄρος in Diodorus, probably the Persian *baghistān* from *bagh*,

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Rusta, pp. 163-67.

<sup>2</sup> Kangāwar, according to Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 237-42: a temple of Anahita erected under the last Achaemenids; *ibid.*, p. 237, about Greek style; picture: *ibid.*, p. 243. Kangāwar, according to E. Herzfeld, is a temple of Anahita, some three hundred years more ancient than Paikuli, "the most important monument of Parthian architecture in Persia" (Herzfeld, *Paikuli. Monument and Inscription of Early History of the Sasanian Empire* [Berlin, 1924], I, 6). For the monuments of Kangāwar, see also bibliography in Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, p. 108, 190; Koshelenko, *Kultura Parfi*, pp. 54-55. [Abū Dulaf, *Travels in Iran*, tr. p. 39, #39; Savory, *EP*, art. "Kinkiwār."]

<sup>3</sup> For Kirmānshāh, see Ṭabarī, tr. Nöldeke, p. 7; Iṣṭakhrī, p. 196, note b. [Also spelled Qī/armīsīn, as in Abū Dulaf, *Travels in Iran*, tr. 45, #33; it clearly represents the pre-Iranian, perhaps Assyrian name of Kirmānshāh, despite the story of its Sāsānid foundation.]

<sup>4</sup> Jabal Bihsutūn.

"deity"), on which is carved the longest extant Achaemenid inscription.<sup>5</sup> It tells of the enthronement of Darius and of his victories over the rebels; the bas-relief shows the king and the captive leaders of the rebels. The inscription is, as usual, trilingual; it includes a remark that molds of it had been taken and sent to the provinces so that all the people could become familiar with its content. This inscription was first copied and deciphered by Rawlinson.<sup>6</sup> The road here was a paved causeway overshadowed by the Bīsūtūn mountain.<sup>7</sup>

At the western limit of the mountain, some six miles from Kirmānshāhān, was the Sāsānid relief of Ṭāq-i Bustān. It is a complex of two vaulted grottoes carved into the rock. The rear wall of the large grotto represents a Persian horseman clad in armor; on the side walls are hunting scenes, and above the entrance to the vault are portraits of goddesses of victory and of other motifs, reflecting the influence of Roman art. In the small grotto are the portraits of Shāpūr II and III with inscriptions.<sup>8</sup> Curzon suggests that the armored horseman is Khusraw II, and that the whole complex deals with the enthronement of this king, with the assistance of the armies of the Byzantine emperor Maurice; this would explain the presence of classical motifs in the bas-reliefs, pointing to a participation of Roman artists.<sup>9</sup> The Arab authors who mention this vault by the name Shabdīz<sup>10</sup> saw in these portraits Khusraw II and his wife Shīrīn, to whom was attributed in some legends, albeit erroneously, a Greek origin.<sup>11</sup> Roman craftsmen could have been employed on

<sup>5</sup> The village Sāsāniyān near Bīsūtūn (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 196); according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 769, the village of Bihsutūn = Sāsāniyān. According to Khwārazmī, *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm* [115.] *baghistān* = *bayt al-aṣnām*.

<sup>6</sup> «"The Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun Decyphered and Translated," *JRAS*, X (1847), 1-349.»

<sup>7</sup> The rock of Bīsūtūn, picture in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 177, 186, 197, 211. «For the inscription of Behistūn, its location, and the history of its scholarship, see now Dandamaev, *Iran*, pp. 7-31.» [Abū Dulaf, *Travels in Iran*, tr. p. 46, #35, comm., pp. 92-93, calling the mountain of Bīsūtūn by its Arabic name (Sinn) Sumayra, "(Tooth of) Sumayra"; Matheson, *Persia, an Archaeological Guide*, pp. 125-29; Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival*, pp. 31, 53.]

<sup>8</sup> Other figures; question of representation of Zoroaster (Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 216 ff.); opinion of Justi, "Geschichte Irans," pp. 219 ff., and *Geschichte der orientalischen Völker*, p. 470. Illustrations *ibid.*, p. 469; Dubeux, *La Perse*, p. 22 (after Ker Porter).

<sup>9</sup> *Persia*, I, 561.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn Rusta, p. 166.

<sup>11</sup> Shabdīz is the name of Khusraw II's horse (Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 63). This

this kind of work even without such legendary associations, as prisoners of war; it is quite possible that this whole complex, as Justi surmises, pertains to the fourth century, in particular to the reigns of Shāpūr II and Shāpūr III.<sup>12</sup>

Kirmānshāhān, the capital of Persian Kurdistan, was, according to tradition, built by the Sāsānid Varahrān IV (388-399), who before his enthronement was governor of Kirmān and therefore bore the title of *Kirmānshāh*. The city is situated in the plain of Māhidasht, and even today has some commercial importance, thanks to its position on the main pilgrim route to Karbalā'. Its population is about 40,000.<sup>13</sup> Kurds are mentioned by Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia* as Karduchoi, Καρδοῦχοι,<sup>14</sup> and in the cuneiform inscriptions, it is believed, as Kudraha.<sup>15</sup> They represent the westernmost branch of the Iranians; it may be that this people was formed through a fusion of Iranian conquerors with earlier inhabitants of the mountains. The Kurds never played a role in history as an independent nation,<sup>16</sup> but separate groups entered, as in the case of other warlike peoples, the service of various rulers; leaders of such groups would often attain outstanding positions. Saladin, the

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is how it appears in Yāqūt; there is also the form Shudāz. Abū Dulaf's statement about the perfection of the representation. «(Cf. *Mu'jam*, I, 534; II, 107, 393, 573, 575, 813; IV, 112.)» [Abū Dulaf, *Travels in Iran*, tr. p. 45, #34, comm. p. 92.]

<sup>12</sup> *Geschichte der orientalischen Völker*, p. 470. «(At the present time the reliefs of Tāq-i Bustān are dated by the scholars to the reign of Khusraw II (590-628), see M. D'iakonov, *Ocherk*, pp. 24, 330, 354, 415; Sarre, "Sasanian Stone Sculpture" in *Survey of Persian Art*, I, 593-600; an earlier date (Pērōz, 457-83) is in Erdmann, "Das Datum des Tak-i Bustan," *Ars Islamica*, IV (1937), 79-97; cf. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, pp. 103-105.)»

<sup>13</sup> Present-day Kirmānshāh and the governor's palace, according to Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 231: 60,000 inhabitants; the city is some four miles in circumference. [Rabino, "Kermanchah," *RMM*, XXXVIII (1920), 1-40; Lockhart, *Persian Cities*, pp. 101-105; Lambton, *ET*, s.v. The population in 1976 was 290,861 (*Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, IV [1976-1977], 242).]

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, III, 5, 16: tradition about the destruction of the army; the country of the Kurds in Xenophon corresponds to present-day Turkish Kurdistan. «(The identification of the ancestors of modern Kurds with the Karduchoi (or Gordioi, inhabitants of the mountains to the north of Assyria) of the classical sources is not considered as proven. Cf. Rashid Yāsīmī, *Kurd wa paywastagi-yi nīzhād wa ta'rikh-i ū* (Tehran, 1319/1940); Vil'chevskii, *Kurdy*.)»

<sup>15</sup> Curzon, *Persia*, I, 550. «(The word Kudraha does not occur in Old Persian inscriptions.)»

<sup>16</sup> «(V. V. Bartol'd must be referring to the fact that the Kurds never succeeded in establishing an independent state.)» [One should, however, mention the short-lived Kurdish Republic of Mahābād in 1945-1946.]

greatest personality on the Muslim side during the epoch of the Crusades, was a Kurd.<sup>16</sup> Persian Kurds are mostly Shāfi'i Sunnīs; according to Curzon, the Kurdish question in Persia is based on hatred between the Sunnīs and Shī'īs. Some of the Kurds who came under stronger Persian influence became Shī'īs; even the sect of the 'Alī-Ilāhīs, which considers 'Alī to be one of the incarnations of divinity, is prevalent among them.<sup>17</sup> The Kurds in the environs of Kirmānshāhān are often settled in villages, and hardly differ from the Persians; the province of Kirmānshāhān is one of the richest of Iran in terms of the cereals grown here. In the tents of the Kurdish nomads, just as in the tents of the Türkmens, are woven rugs that enjoy great demand.

From the plain of Māhidasht, several roads lead to the small river of Hūlwān Chay, so called after the town of Hūlwān, which already existed under the Assyrians. The Arab geographers seem to describe the one that goes through Sar-i Pul and Karind.<sup>18</sup> At the western end of the pass that divides the Āb-i Karind, a tributary of the Karkha, from the plain of Māhidasht, there was in the village of Akhurīn, settled by Kurds, a temple of fire worshipers visited by pilgrims from various countries.<sup>19</sup> The stretch from here to the Hūlwān pass was considered unsafe because it was exposed to Kurdish raids. Travelers crossed the small river Hūlwān twice, in each instance on a bridge; the town of Hūlwān itself lay on the left side of the river, to the south of Sar-i Pul.<sup>20</sup> In the middle of the pass stood a stone structure of Sāsānid construction, with a marble floor;

<sup>16</sup> See on Saladin's ethnic background and the role of the Kurds in the Ayyūbid state, V. V. Minorsky, "The Prehistory of Saladin," in *Studies in Caucasian History* (London, 1953), pp. 107-57.

<sup>17</sup> Also the sect of the Yazīdiyya. See Minorskii, *Materialy*. For the Kurds and their culture, see Marr, "Eshche o slove «chelebi»," pp. 120 ff. (See now the bibliography in Musaëlian, *Bibhografiya po kurdovedeniiu*; Vil'chevskii, *Kurdy*; Minorsky, *ET*<sup>1</sup>, art. "Kurds"; *idem*, art. "Kurdistan"; B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes, étude sociologique et historique* (Paris, 1956); *Narody Perednei Azii*.) [T. Bois and Minorsky, *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Kurds, Kurdistan"; Minorsky, *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Ahl-i Ḥakk"; *idem*, "The Sect of the Ahl-i Ḥakk," *Iranica, Twenty Articles*, pp. 306-16.]

<sup>18</sup> Karind, according to Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 191-92, is for the first time mentioned by Mustawfi; it corresponds to the Marj al-Qal'a of Ibn Hawqal.

<sup>19</sup> For the *bayt nār* in Akhurīn, see Ibn Rusta, p. 165.

<sup>20</sup> In Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 192, a different route is described: four farsakhs from Marj al-Qal'a is Ṭazar, the latter mentioned by Maqdisī, p. 393, probably the same as the Qaṣr Yazīd of other authors; six farsakhs further was al-Zubaydiyya, the modern village of Hārūnābād. In Ṭazar, according to Maqdisī, p. 393, were the ruins of the palace Qaṣr Kisrā, according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 537, a high *aywān* built by Khusrawjird ibn Shāhān.



the building still exists and is called Tāq-i Hirra.<sup>21</sup> Five farsakhs to the south of Hulwān, on the right bank of the river, was the village of Qaṣr-i Shīrīn, where today one can still see the ruins of a palace of Khusraw II and of a fortification from the same period. A detailed description of the palace and fortress is in the report of de Morgan's expedition.<sup>22</sup> Between Qaṣr-i Shīrīn and Khāniqīn, places that today are already on the Turkish [now Iraqi] side of the border, the distance was reckoned as six farsakhs; there used to be, and still is, a large arched bridge over the river at Khāniqīn. In the Middle Ages, the Hulwān pass to the east of the small river Hulwān Chay was usually considered the border of Arab Iraq; the tenth-century geographers describe the town of Hulwān both in the chapter dealing with Iraq and in that dealing with the province of al-Jibāl.<sup>23</sup> Noteworthy on the way from Khāniqīn to Baghdad are the ruins of the large Sāsānid city of Dastagird, the Daskara of the Arabs, now called Eski Baghdād, near the village of Shahrābān some sixteen farsakhs from Baghdad and fourteen from Khāniqīn. The town was destroyed by the emperor Heraclius in 627; nearby are the ruins of its citadel. In the time of Ibn Rusta, the inhabitants themselves abandoned the city for fear of the Bedouins, and moved

<sup>21</sup> Picture in Justi, *Geschichte*, p. 387. According to Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, I, 6, the Tāq-i Hirra was some three hundred years older than Paikuli, "and must have been built by an architect from Northern Mesopotamia about 600 B.C." (!) (Cf. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, p. 103 (the edifice in Tāq-i Hirra pertains to the Sāsānid period). The Sāsānid inscription in Paikuli is in Turkish [that is, in modern Iraqi] Kurdistan, to the west of the Diyālā, below 35° 7' 16" N and 45° 34' 35" E; Middle Persian and Parthian texts (in Herzfeld, Pahlavik and Pārsik), inscription of King Narseh (293-303). A part of the text was copied by Rawlinson at a time when the inscription was in better condition (1844; he discovered it in 1836); Herzfeld found Rawlinson's notebook at the Royal Asiatic Society. The main topic of the inscription was the struggle between Narseh and Varahrān III (he ruled only for four months, thus Justi, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 520; according to Ṭabarī, tr. Nöldeke, p. 50, he ruled for four years). The text and translation are in *Paikuli*, I, 94-119; forty-seven lines with large gaps; in line 44 Kušān šāh and others are mentioned, in line 45, Xwārazmān šāh (without a name). (For new works devoted to the inscription in Paikuli, see W. B. Henning, "A Farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatārān," *BSOAS*, XIV (1952), 501-22; R. N. Frye, "Remarks on the Paikuli and Sar Mashad Inscriptions," *HJAS*, XX (1957), 702-706.) [H. Humbert, *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli. I. Supplement to Herzfeld's Paikuli* (Wiesbaden, 1978).]

<sup>22</sup> De Morgan, *Mission*, IV, 341 ff. (For the Sāsānid constructions in Qaṣr-i Shīrīn, see Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, pp. 98, 187.)

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 87, 200. [Lockhart, *EP*, s.v.; Morony, "Continuity and Change in the Administrative Geography of Late Sasanian and Early Islamic al-'Irāq," pp. 21-22. Hulwān was the administrative center of the early Islamic district known as Māh al-Kūfa.]

to the fortress on the mountaintop.<sup>24</sup> The prison of one of the Sāsānids was said to have been here, and even today the ruins of this fortress are called Zindān, "prison."<sup>25</sup>

Arab Iraq or ancient Babylonia was the furthest region in which there was a significant Iranian element in the population. As is well known, the political domination of the Iranians encompassed for a time all western Asia and Egypt, but there was never a significant number of Iranian settlers in those countries. Babylonia, on the other hand, because of its fertility and advantageous geographical position, was the center of a whole series of monarchies, and at the time when one of the capitals—sometimes the only capital—of the kings of Iran was within its territory, a considerable Iranian element must have mixed with the native population. The earliest center of the region, Babylon, became under Nebuchadnezzar in the sixth century B.C. an enormous merchant city; this monarch surrounded it with a wall eighty-four versts in circumference, so that Babylon, to use Justi's expression, resembled "a province turned into a fortress."<sup>26</sup> Babylon remained one of the empire's capitals under the Achaemenids; Alexander the Great wanted to make it the capital of the universal kingdom he was hoping to create. The Arab geographers mention Bābil as a minor settlement, but they also say that the ancient capital used to be here. The Persians attributed the founding of Babylon to ʿAḥḥāk.<sup>27</sup> Nearby was the Muslim village of al-Jāmi'ān, on the site of which the ruler Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaqa, of the Mazyadid dynasty, created in 1101 the town of Ḥilla. Ḥilla lay on both banks—but especially on the western bank—of the Euphrates. In the fourteenth century, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī reports that the inhabitants spoke a corrupted Arabic, but were Shī'ī fanatics who believed that the expected Mahdī would come from their city.<sup>28</sup>

A new capital appeared under Seleucus I (312-280 B.C.) under the name of Seleucia, on the right bank of the Tigris, a little to the south of modern Baghdad; subsequently on the opposite bank the

<sup>24</sup> Ibn Rusta, p. 163. [A. A. Dūrī, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Daskara."]

<sup>25</sup> *Geschichte der orientalischen Völker*, p. 386.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 363.

<sup>27</sup> *Iṣṭakhrī*, p. 86.

<sup>28</sup> *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extract in Schefer's ed., p. 154 [ed. Le Strange, p. 40, tr. *idem*, p. 47. For al-Jāmi'ān/Hilla, see G. G. Makdisi, "Notes on Hilla and the Mazyadids in Mediaeval Islam," *JAOS*, LXXIV (1954), 249-62, showing that the statement that Ṣadaqa created Hilla is inaccurate and that al-Jāmi'ān was enlarged into a permanent settlement, that is, into Ḥilla, by Dubays I b. 'Alī b. Mazyad in the early eleventh century.]

city of Ctesiphon (ἡ Κτησιφῶν), Ṭasafūn or Ṭisafūn in Arabic and Persian, grew. In the second century A.D. Seleucia was destroyed by the Romans, but in the third century, Ardashīr, the founder of the Sāsānid dynasty, rebuilt it under the name of Weh-Ardashīr.<sup>29</sup> In this manner the twin city of Seleucia-Ctesiphon remained the capital of the Parthian kings as well as of their successors the Sāsānids; in other words, it was the capital of the Persian empire down to the Islamic conquest. Isidore of Charax describes the road from Seleucia to Ekbatana or Hamadān; one can see from the stages that he mentions along this road—Χάλα or Ḥulwān, Καρίνα or Karind, and Κογκυβάρο or Kangawār—that it was identical with the road described by the Arab geographers and that exists still today.

Ctesiphon, together with Weh-Ardashir and other suburbs, bore the Arabic name al-Madā'in ("the cities").<sup>30</sup> Out of the ruins of al-Madā'in was later built Baghdad. Only a part of the famous palace called Ṭāq-i Kistrā<sup>31</sup> has remained; the construction of this palace was attributed to Khusraw Anūshirwān. The Arabs considered it to be one of the wonders of the world, and the tallest brick construction ever built.<sup>32</sup> There was a legend that the palace collapsed without any apparent reason on the night that the Prophet Muḥammad was born; or, according to another legend, the year when he embarked on his prophetic mission in the reign of Khusraw II. According to tradition, in the Sāsānid period the two parts of Madā'in were linked by a brick bridge, but as early as the tenth century no trace of this bridge was left.<sup>33</sup> On the site of the ancient city, facing the Ṭāq-i Kistrā, there was still in the fourteenth century a Muslim sanctuary, the tomb of the Prophet's barber Salmān Fārsī, which is mentioned by Maqdisī.<sup>34</sup> Aside from these two buildings, by the time that Mustawfī wrote, nothing was left on the eastern bank of

<sup>29</sup> Ṭabarī, tr. Nöldeke, p. 16.

<sup>30</sup> Madā'in: Iranian and Semitic quarters; Asbānbur, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 237; Maqdisī, p. 122.

<sup>31</sup> Or Aywān Kistrā; cf. al-Ẓahīrī's story about the madrasa of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (1347-1351 and 1354-1361).

<sup>32</sup> A contemporary view is in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs. Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen von Denkmälern aus Alt- und Mittelpersischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1910), atlas, pls. XXXIX and XLII; for the dimensions see Justi, *Geschichte*, p. 476 (for the Ṭāq-i Kistrā, see *Survey of Persian Art*, I, iv).

<sup>33</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 87.

<sup>34</sup> Maqdisī, p. 122. Today, Salmān Pāk is a short distance to the north of Ṭāq-i Kistrā. Cf. the plan in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Felsreliefs*. [For photographs of the tomb, see L. Massignon, "Nouvelles recherches sur Salmān Pāk," *A Locust's Leg, Studies in Honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, pp. 178-81.]

the Tigris; on the western bank there still existed a small settlement.<sup>35</sup>

Nowhere were the transformations wrought by the Arabs so far-reaching as in Mesopotamia. Mustawfî remarks that in his time, all seven cities of Iraq that had existed before Islam—Madā'in, Qādisiyya, Rūmiyya, Hīra, Bābil, Nahrawān, and Hulwān—lay in ruins.<sup>36</sup> Among these cities, Rūmiyya was near Madā'in; just as Jundīshāpūr under Shāpūr I, so also Rūmiyya under Khusraw Anushirwān was built on the model of Antioch for the captives brought here from the latter city. Persians called it Rūmaqān, whereas in Armenian and Byzantine sources it appears also as Antioch of Khusraw.<sup>37</sup> Nahrawān, which still flourished in the tenth century,<sup>38</sup> lay four farsakhs from Baghdad by the high road to Khāniqīn, on the bank of a canal that watered the area around Baghdad. Qādisiyya, near which the famous battle between the Arabs and the Persians took place, is mentioned in the tenth century as a border point of Iraq on the west, five days' journey from Baghdad, to the southwest of Kūfa.<sup>39</sup> There was yet another Qādisiyya—this one on the Tigris—by the road from Baghdad to Sāmarrā, three farsakhs from the latter.<sup>40</sup> The city of Anbār on the Euphrates is also mentioned, on the road from Baghdad to Syria and two farsakhs from the former,<sup>41</sup> the 'Abbāsīd caliphs considered making Anbār their capital before the foundation of Baghdad.<sup>b</sup> Near Hīra, in the Islamic period, Kūfa was created.

All the principal cities of Iraq, that is, Kūfa, Baṣra, and Wāsiṭ as well as Baghdad, were founded only after the coming of Islam.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extract in Schefer's ed., p. 163 [ed. Le Strange, p. 45, tr. *idem*, p. 52].

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162. Parthian Hatra (al-Ḥaḍr), see Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 98 ff.; Justi, "Geschichte Irans," p. 449. «For Hatra and its monuments, see Koshelenko, *Kul'tura Parfi*, pp. 26-27, 137-44, 170-78, 190-98; also Maricq, "Hatra de Sanatrouq," and "Les dernières années de Hatra: l'alliance romaine," *Classica et orientalia* (Paris, 1965), pp. 1-16 and 17-26, respectively.) [Ch. Pellat, *EP*, art. "al-Ḥaḍr"; Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival*, pp. 58-62.]

<sup>37</sup> Ṭabarī, tr. Nöldeke, pp. 165-66.

<sup>38</sup> Iṣṭakhri, p. 86.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79. [L. Vecchia Vaglieri, *EP*, art. "al-Ḳādisiyya. 2."]

<sup>40</sup> Ibn Khurradādhbih, tr., p. 67; cf. Maqdisī, p. 29. [Streck and Lassner, *EP*, art. "al-Ḳādisiyya. 1."]

<sup>41</sup> Ibn Khurradādhbih, tr., p. 53. «See now Maricq, "Découverte aérienne d'Anbār," *Classica et orientalia*, pp. 147-56.» [Streck and Duri, *EP*, s.v.].

<sup>b</sup> Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages* (Detroit, 1970), pp. 123-24; *idem*, *The Shaping of 'Abbāsīd Rule* (Princeton, 1980).

<sup>42</sup> The Syriac name of Kūfa is 'Aqlā, "the crooked" (cf. W. Wright, tr. in *Krathiy*

Kūfa lay on the Euphrates four days' journey from Baghdad and five farsakhs (fifteen miles) from Qādisiyya.<sup>43</sup> At a distance of one farsakh from Kūfa lay Hīra, the capital of the well-known dynasty of the Lakhmids, who had ruled over the limitrophic Arab tribes as vassals of the Sāsānids. The city fell to ruin after the founding of Kūfa. Two farsakhs to the southwest of Kūfa, people showed the grave of the caliph 'Alī; near this sanctuary lay the settlement of Najaf. Even more than 'Alī's tomb in Najaf, the Shī'is venerate the tomb of his son Ḥusayn at Karbalā', situated to the northwest of Babylon. A legend claimed that the caliph Mutawakkil (ninth century) wanted to flood the tomb, but that the water miraculously stopped in front of the sanctuary. In the tenth century, 'Aḍud al-Dawla built here a mausoleum around which a small town developed.<sup>44</sup>

From Baghdad to Wāsiṭ the distance was reckoned to be eight days' journey, and from Kūfa to Wāsiṭ, through marshy territory, six days. Wāsiṭ, like Baghdad, stood on both banks of the Tigris, which were linked by a pontoon bridge.<sup>45</sup> Today, it is bisected not by the main course of the river but only by one of its channels. Through Wāsiṭ passed the main road from Iraq to Khūzistān. A distance of eight days' travel (or fifty farsakhs) was counted from Wāsiṭ to Baṣra, a city where in pre-Islamic times there was no settlement. "The bringing to life of dead lands" happened only under Islam, and as a result, the tax collected from cultivated plots here was not the land tax (*kharāj*) but only the tithe (*'ushr*).<sup>46</sup> Baṣra, watered by a multitude of canals, still lay two days' journey from the seacoast. Four farsakhs from Baṣra was the town of Ubulla, between the main course of the Tigris and one of the channels; the harbor of Ubulla was considered very dangerous,<sup>47</sup> notwithstanding which its commerce grew considerably.<sup>48</sup> The main course

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*ocherk*, p. 94 n. 4; this name was used by the Chinese (Chao Zhu-gua, *Chu-fan-chi*, tr. F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill [St. Petersburg, 1911], p. 110). Hīra, Khawārnaq and the correct remark by Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 76.

<sup>43</sup> Ibn Khurradādhbih, tr., p. 96. [Hichem Djait, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.].

<sup>44</sup> Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extract in Schefer's ed., pp. 144-45 [ed. Le Strange, p. 32, tr. *idem*, p. 39. E. Honigsmann, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.].

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 274; II, 442, about the village of Zandaward and Dawqara; II, pp. 621, 951, Dawkar; and Wright, tr. in *Kratku ocherk*, pp. 128, 132 n. 3. See further Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 274; II, 442 on [the settlement of] Khusraw Sābūr.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 82.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>48</sup> According to Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen* (Berlin, 1892), p. 157, Baṣra "weiter westlich als die heutige viel kleinere Stadt dieses Namens"; Ubulla, p. 166) "ungefähr

of the Tigris flowed into the sea near the village of 'Abbādān on the road from Baṣra to 'Umān, twelve farsakhs, according to Ibn Khurradādhbih, from Baṣra.<sup>49</sup> The landing place (*al-khashabāt*, literally, "constructions on wooden piles") of 'Abbādān lay two farsakhs from that village, and that was where people boarded the boats. In the twelfth century, just as today, the name 'Abbādān was applied to the island formed by the two channels of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab near the place where the river flows into the sea.<sup>50</sup>

We read in the sources that the Euphrates bifurcated below Anbār into two channels, one of which flowed toward Kūfa, whereas the other passed by Sūrā and joined the Tigris below Wāsiṭ; this second channel must clearly be identical with the present-day main course.<sup>51</sup> The western channel, according to Maqdisī, branched out below Kūfa into a multitude of canals; four of these reached the Tigris.<sup>52</sup> According to a legend, the destruction of dams in Iraq

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an der Stelle des heutigen Basra." Cf. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma* (Tehran lithog.), pp. 228-29; about the location of Ubulla: *ibid.*, p. 238, and also Ibn Khurradādhbih, text, p. 59; Qudāma, text, p. 194; Ibn al-Faṣḥ, p. 191; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 31, about the departure of the Persians in four hundred ships, at the Arab conquest, to S.b.dhān, and about the fire temples. In Baṣra there were three bazaars, see Maqdisī, p. 117 (there are other names in Nāṣir-i Khusraw). Picture of Baṣra in Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, facing p. 244; in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Felsreliefs*, atlas, pl. XXXVII; text, pp. 249 ff. (For Baṣra in the historical geography of Iraq as a whole, see also Le Strange, "Description of Persia and Mesopotamia"; *idem*, *The Lands*, pp. 1-85; Markwart, *Südarmanien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und arabischen Geographen* (Vienna, 1930); Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien nach den arabischen Geographen* (Leiden, 1900-1901); H. H. Schaeder, "Hasan al-Baṣrī. Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Islam," *Isl.*, XIV (1925), 4-42; Ch. Pellat and S. H. Longrigg, *EP*, art. "al-Baṣra.") [For the early Islamic history of the *muṣr* of Baṣra, see the detailed study by Pellat, *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Gāhiz* (Paris, 1953).]

<sup>49</sup> Text, p. 60, tr., p. 40. Kūt al-'Amāra, medieval Fam al-Šilḥ, see on it Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 917; the canal al-Šilḥ above; the administrative district between it and Jabbul villages, the palace of Ma'mūn's vizier al-Hasan b. Sahl, "and it [that is, the palace] is now ruined except for a small part." [For Kūt al-'Amāra, see J. B. Kelly, *EP*, s.v.].

<sup>50</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, p. X. 'Abbādān is the abode of the Šūfis; a *ribāt*, with a "community of šufis and ascetics" in it. 'Abbādān as an island in Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma* (Tehran lithog.), p. 240; at high tide, the sea reaches the walls of 'Abbādān, at the ebb it recedes to almost two farsakhs from it; *khashāb* (*ibid.*, p. 241, cf. *al-Khashabāt* in Ibn Khurradādhbih, tr., p. 40) as a sign marking shoals. From 'Abbādān to Mihrūyān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma* (Tehran lithog.), p. 242, cf. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 29. [Pellat, *EP*, art. "al-Khashabāt," and Lockhart, art. "'Abādān"; Lockhart, *Persian Cities*, pp. 165-71. Since Barthold wrote, the town has of course enjoyed a phenomenal growth through its oil refineries and terminal; its name was Persianized to Ābādān by Riḍā Shāh Pahlavi. Its population in 1976 was 296,081 (*Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, IV [1976-1977], 242.)]

<sup>51</sup> Qudāma, tr., p. 177.

<sup>52</sup> Maqdisī, p. 20.

and the appearance of marshlands occurred in the seventh century, shortly before the Islamic conquest. The term Shaṭṭ al-'Arab appears as early as Mustawfī's work.<sup>53</sup>

From among the cities on the Tigris above Baghdad, Sāmarrā and Takrīt were noteworthy. From Baghdad to Sāmarrā the distance was reckoned to be three days' journey, and it was one more to Takrīt. Sāmarrā was built in the ninth century by the caliph Mu'taṣim (833-842), and finished in the reign of Mutawakkil (847-861), under the name of Surra man ra'ā or, according to Maqdisī, Surūr man ra'ā, which was also shortened to Surmarā.<sup>54</sup> It stood on the eastern bank of the Tigris at the edge of the desert; the nearby settlements, orchards, and fields were all on the western bank. Here lived the caliph surrounded by his guard; according to Maqdisī,<sup>55</sup> here was also built a Ka'ba, and places called "the valley of Minā" and "the mountain of 'Arafāt," so that the captains of the guard could not leave the caliph even under the pretext of going on pilgrimage.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, the city did not last much more than one hundred years; Mu'tamid (870-892) moved his residence back to Baghdad, and Sāmarrā began to fall into neglect. The name itself was changed, according to Maqdisī, into Sā'a man ra'ā, which then became Sāmarrā;<sup>57</sup> the latter form is already employed, however, by Iṣṭakhrī.<sup>58</sup>

The city of Takrīt was in the tenth century and even later one of the Christian centers of Iraq; even in the thirteenth century, at the time of the Mongol conquest of Baghdad, Christians constituted a significant part of Takrīt's population.<sup>59</sup> In the Mongol period,

<sup>53</sup> *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, University ms. 171, fol. 254 [ed. Le Strange, p. 215, tr. *idem*, p. 207]. It appears as early as the account of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who was there on 20 Sha'bān 443/27 December 1051, see *Safar-nāma* (Tehran lithog.), p. 228. Cf. Quatremère's opinion (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, note 58) that the name Shaṭṭ al-'Arab refers to the whole course of the Tigris.

<sup>54</sup> Maqdisī, p. 122.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Doubtfulness of this story; Ya'qūbī.

<sup>57</sup> Maqdisī, p. 123.

<sup>58</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 79, 85. (For the history and monuments of Sāmarrā, see Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra* (Hamburg-Berlin, 1948).) [For the buildings of Sāmarrā, see K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture: Umayyads, Early 'Abbāsids and Tulūnids*, II (London, 1950); for its site and planning, J. M. Rogers, "Sāmarrā, a Study in Medieval Town-Planning," *The Islamic City*, ed. A. H. Hourani and S. M. Stern (London, 1970), pp. 118-55.]

<sup>59</sup> C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, III, 270-71. [Takrīt was the center of the pre-Islamic district of Ṭīrhān, a Monophysite Christian metropolitanate that from 629 onward exercised authority over the whole Monophysite Church in the East; it further possessed a Nestorian bishopric. See J.-M. Fiey, "Tagrit," *L'Orient syrien*,

the city, situated on the western bank of the Tigris, enjoyed the reputation of being a solid stronghold, and it was believed to have been built by the Sāsānids. In 1393, Takrīt was taken and demolished by Tīmūr. The garrison, for its stubborn resistance, was exterminated; at the demolition of the fortress one wall was left standing as a warning to posterity.<sup>60</sup>

The Shī'ī rulers of Persia were of course reluctant to leave a region that harbored the principal Shī'ī sanctuaries, and where the Shī'īs constituted the major part of the population, in the hands of the Sunnī sultāns of Turkey. Already in the middle of the thirteenth century, when the Mongols marched on Baghdad, the Shī'īs of Hilla and other places on the Euphrates defected from the 'Abbāsids and assisted the Mongols.<sup>61</sup> In the seventeenth century, Shāh 'Abbās the Great took Baghdad from the Turks for some time, but in 1638 the latter city reverted to the Ottoman empire.<sup>62</sup>

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VIII (1963), 292 ff.; *idem*, *Assyrie chrétienne* (Beirut, 1968), II, 329; III, 18, 105-106; Morony, "Continuity and Change," pp. 15-16.]

<sup>60</sup> Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, I, 647-56.

<sup>61</sup> C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, III, 255.

<sup>62</sup> A. A. Adamov's book *Irak Arabsku*. The dynasty of the Afrāsiyābids, amīrs of Bašra in the sixteenth century, in R. Hartmann, *El'*, art. "al-Bašra": descendants of Afrāsiyāb; the *fīrmān* of 1616 that confirmed Afrāsiyāb as governor of Bašra; end of these governors in 1668 (Adamov, *Irak Arabsku*, pp. 332-42). Information about Bašra and Muḥammara in Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, pp. 243-48. Muḥammara's cession to Persia in accordance with the treaty of Erzurum of 1846 (Adamov, *Irak Arabsku* p. 450). Muḥammara, according to Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 48, on the place of Bayān (for it, see *ibid.*); concerning the fortress of Fao: cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 849, s.v. "Fāw." [H.A.R. Gibb, *EP*, art. "Afrāsiyāb."]



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